

THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

No. 26.

RICHMOND, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26, 1840.

VOL. I.

TERMS.

THE CRISIS will be printed in quarto form, on a medium sheet, with new type. The price \$1—and no paper will be sent to any person, without payment in advance, postage paid. As nothing short of a very large and effective subscription can justify the continuation of the paper, the above terms will be strictly adhered to. We mean to make no debts at all. We abjure all credit in this establishment, and insist upon the Cash System.

POLITICS.

DINNER IN HANOVER.—[Correspondence.]

Washington City,
Friday Morning, July 3, 1840.

Gentlemen: I received, last evening, with emotions which I cannot express, your very kind and flattering favor of the 1st inst., inviting me, in behalf of the "Democratic citizens of the county of Hanover, to public dinner, to be given on such day as will be most convenient to myself." No man, who has not been placed in a situation similar to that which I have occupied for the last three years, can duly appreciate the feeling which is excited by the words, "well done, good and faithful servant." From no portion of my numerous constituents could that highest reward be so gratefully received, as from my fellow-citizens of Hanover—my "former constituents, neighbors and friends." At no past time could I have so fully felt the force and value of such a compliment as that you now offer me—because I have never before been placed in a situation so responsible as that to which you advert, or known those principles which I have cherished through life so fiercely and fearfully assailed as now: The ancient and indomitable spirit of Virginia Democracy is, however, now awakened from its apparent slumber, and I feel a comfortable assurance, that the blessed "Old Dominion" will, in November next, show to her sisters of this great Confederacy, that she is still true to her own great principles, on which was commenced and fully established the glorious Revolution of 1800. Those principles vivified, as they have just been by an act of Congress, which, at this moment, only awaits the signature of our Democratic President to become a law—forbidding and prohibiting any man or set of men from enjoying the free use of the money paid by the people for the support of their Government—cannot fail to establish and enforce those sound Constitutional provisions and doctrines, on which depend the liberty of the people and the permanency of our institutions.

I would, gentlemen, fain decline your invitation;—all my impulses arising as well from my habitual objection to such testimonials, as from my consciousness that I have done nothing to deserve this distinguished compliment, impel me to it—but the source from whence it comes, the circumstances attending it, and "last, though not least," the very cordial and friendly manner in which you have pressed it upon me, forbid my refusal to meet my friends of Hanover, in any manner they may desire. Both Houses of Congress will adjourn on the 21st inst. It may be inconvenient to me to meet you during the present month. On any day that you may designate, after its expiration, it will be my pleasure and my happiness to meet my friends of Hanover; for whom, and for yourselves, individually and personally, I offer my cordial respects,

W. H. ROANE.

To J. D. G. Brown, W. L. White, Edwin Shelton, Chas. W. Dabney and Chas. P. Street, Esqrs., "Committee of the Democrats of county of Hanover."

WASHINGTON, 4th July, 1840.

Gentlemen—if I could be induced to depart from a rule on which I have long acted, it would be by your warm and cordial invitation to accept of a public dinner; but when I inform you that I have not for the last ten years accepted an invitation of the kind out of my own State—and not more than two or three there—and that I have already, during this session, declined more than half a dozen in yours, I am sure you will excuse me for not accepting that which you have so kindly offered in the name of the Republican party of Hanover.

In taking the course I did, at the extra session, and which you so highly approve, I but acted in obedience to principles, on which I had been long acting, and for the accomplishment of an object, for which I have been struggling for more than a dozen of years; to give ascendancy to the old Republican principles and doctrines of your own State. I regarded then, and still regard, the separation of the Government and the Banks, as indispensable to the complete and permanent accomplishment of that great object—and thus thinking, I would have been a traitor to my own cause, had I permitted

either friendship or enmity to influence me on the occasion.

What was then proposed, after three years' hard struggle, has, on this day, the glorious Anniversary of Independence, become a law; and has severed the last cord that bound the Government to the paper system—a great and happy consummation. The measure, if sustained by the people, and faithfully carried out by the Government, (as I trust it will be,) will be followed, almost necessarily, by a thorough reformation of the Government, and a great, permanent and salutary change in the social, moral, and political condition of the country. There will no doubt, be some inconvenience and embarrassment, for a time, resulting from it, which will be seized on, and magnified by its enemies; but let its friends remember, that, in the order of Providence, reformation is never effected without inconvenience and sacrifice, either in the political, or the moral world—no; not where the change is from the worst to the best condition—from slavery to freedom, or vice to virtue; and that they who are not prepared to make the sacrifice, are unworthy of the blessing that follows.

With great respect,

I am, &c., &c.,

J. C. CALHOUN.

House of Representatives, July 21, 1840.

Gentlemen: Your communication as the organ of the Democratic Republican party of the county of Hanover, I have duly received. Nothing, gentlemen, will afford me greater pleasure than to participate with the Republicans of your county, at the public dinner proposed to be given on the 4th day of next month. I know of nothing at this time, which will prevent me from availing myself of the honor tendered me. Should subsequent events occur to prevent my personal attendance at the meeting, I shall be with you in feeling and principle. We have a powerful, active, and zealous political enemy to contend with—but by union and concert of action with our Democratic friends, we shall defeat the combined powers of Federalism, Abolitionism, and the incorporated monied Aristocracy of the country. Every age and every nation have had apostates and traitors; we have had our Arnolds and our Burrs; we have them now moving Heaven and Earth to bring the old Federal party into power.—Let us be united, sink all minor differences, and go for the principles of the Constitution.

Accept for yourselves individually, and those whom you represent, gentlemen, my grateful acknowledgments for the honor you have done me, and believe me to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

LINN BANKS.

LEWISBURG, July 24, 1840.

Gentlemen: Your obliging invitation to a public dinner of the Democratic party, which was directed to Richmond, reached me at this place yesterday, where it found me engaged in my official duties, which will probably occupy me until the latter part of next month. It will not therefore be in my power to comply with your request.

But, though I shall be unable to join in your festivities, you may rest assured that I unite most heartily in your zealous wishes for the success of our party in the unprecedented struggle which is now going on. It is, in my opinion, a struggle to maintain that ascendancy of the Democracy, which was acquired by the election of Mr. Jefferson, and which, happily, but for a short interval, has been preserved ever since. If I could doubt whether our party are true to their principles, that doubt would be removed when I look to the Opposition; there I see the same adversaries with whom we contended in 1800. The old Federal States of the Union; the old Federal counties of our State; the old Federal leaders in our counties; are to be found at this day in the ranks of the Opposition, as they were in the days of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison. They are consistent in being so, and we are consistent in resisting their efforts to recover that power which they had abused. We do not deny, that there are individual instances of changes on both sides; but, contrary to the received opinion that the people are fickle and inconstant, the masses have remained fixed and immovable as the Northern star. I trust that on this occasion our friends will be found to have continued so, and that the election in November, will prove the "Ancient Dominion" to be the "land of steady habits." Permit me to subjoin a sentiment expressive of my hopes and wishes on this occasion.

I cannot conclude this note without offering you my respectful acknowledgments for the very flattering manner in which, as the "organs of the Democratic Republican party in the county of Hanover," you have communicated their wishes. Accept if you please, for them and for yourselves, the assurance of the great respect with which I am your fellow-citizen,

H. S. G. TUCKER.

To Messrs. J. D. G. BROWN, &c., &c.
Success to the Democracy: May they never lose by supineness or versatility, the ascendancy which for forty years they have so manfully maintained.

RICHMOND, July 25, 1840.

Gentlemen—I have to acknowledge your favor of the 8th inst., in which, as the organ of the Democratic Republican party of the county of Hanover, you invite me to be present at a public dinner, to be given at the "Junction" in your county. I feel very grateful for the honor done me, and for the kind and too partial terms, in which your invitation is expressed. I certainly would accept it, with pleasure, but the Court, of which I am the sole Judge, will then be in session, and it is a principle with me never to abandon the post in which my country has placed me, nor to neglect its duties; a rule from which I feel persuaded, my friends will be the last to wish me to depart. Confined in my office by laborious and arduous duties, the nature of which precludes my active interference in the collisions of parties, or the conflict of elections, I yet feel a deep interest in what concerns the happiness of my country and the preservation and maintenance of our free institutions. In accepting office, I never meant to sacrifice my rights of suffrage, or the free expression of my opinions of public men and measures; and if I deemed such office incompatible with the exercise of these rights, I would speedily surrender it. You do me but justice, when you attribute to me, a devotion to Democratic Republican principles. In that faith I was reared, in that faith I shall die. Attachment to these principles, is with me not a mere ebullition of feelings, but the result of long reflection and of matured conviction, that a Government founded on the popular will, is the only form which is calculated to secure the happiness of the great majority of the community, which is, or ought to be, the only legitimate object of all Governments. I am entirely convinced of the capacity of the People to govern themselves—a truth, on which no other Government than our own, seems to be based. If you ask me for the Repositories in which the principles of the Republican party are to be found, I refer you to the Resolutions of 1798, and to the admirable exposition of them, in the Report of our own illustrious Madison, in the succeeding year. These are the true political text books, the pure fountains, to which we should resort, in all cases of doubt, or difficulty, either of Constitutional law or the genuine doctrines of civil liberty. The conflict which is now going on, is to decide whether these principles shall be maintained, or we shall permit the Government to pass from the hands of the present administration, in which we have confidence, to be guided by our political opponents, either on principles which are unknown to us, or as far as known, which we highly disapprove.

I rely confidently on the intelligence of the people of my native State. I believe they understand their rights, and have patriotism and firmness to assert, and defend them. To justify this confidence, the People should demonstrate to the world, that they are not to be misled by addresses to their passions, to their prejudices, or to their supposed ignorance and credulity, and should distrust and rebuke every appeal, except such as shall attempt to convince their reason and enlighten their judgment. If the great body of our fellow-citizens will observe this course—if every man will devote one day to his country in November, we need not despair of the Republic; and Virginia, the blessed mother of us all, will be found rallying under the Republican banner which she unfurled in 1798, and which has waved triumphantly ever since.

With great respect,
I am your friend and fellow-citizen,
P. N. NICHOLAS.

A Sentiment.—The People of Virginia: Too intelligent to be misled, and too virtuous to be seduced.

Spring Farm, July 24, 1840.

Gentlemen: I have received your letter, in which, as the organs of the Democratic Republican party of the County of Hanover, you have requested my attend-

ance at a public dinner, to be given at the Junction, in the county above mentioned, on the 6th day of August next. The object of the contemplated meeting is, as I am informed, to ensure our best exertions in support of the principles we cherish, and of the virtuous and enlightened Chief Magistrate who has so ably and fearlessly enforced and defended them. 'Tis impossible, gentlemen, that you can be more deeply impressed than I am with the importance of the political contest at present going on in our country, or with the solemn appeal it presents to every friend of civil liberty or social happiness. I sincerely and anxiously regard it, as a struggle, on the part of the Democracy, in behalf of political and moral integrity; in behalf of the equal rights of man; in behalf of all that can ensure permanency or prosperity to our institutions, or that can render them at all worth maintaining; as opposed to a combination and to influences, which, operating through the worst passions, must, if successful, overthrow our beautiful fabric of Confederated Sovereignties, and bury its disjointed fragments in ruin and misery!—An enumeration of the evidences on which my convictions are founded would transcend the usual limits of a letter, but I will sum them up by saying, that these evidences portray to my deliberate reflection the extremest abuses of Federal usurpation; the frantic excesses of a debasing fanaticism, shocking to all our sympathies, and fraught with desolation and horror to our domestic circles. I should deem myself most criminally delinquent, if, in a contest involving interests and duties like those I have described, I were not committed to the extent of every effort and every sacrifice. Your partiality, gentlemen, has very far overrated any power I possess of contributing to the protection of those interests, or to the fulfilment of those duties so sacred in the estimation of every Democrat, of every Southern Democrat especially: but be that power, great or small, rest assured, it shall at all times be promptly and faithfully bestowed. In order, therefore, to its exertion, in concert with my fellow-citizens of our District, I promise to meet them at the time and place designated in your letter. I tender to you, gentlemen, and to those whom you represent, my profound and cordial respect.

Your fellow-citizen,
P. V. DANIEL.

Richmond, 5th August, 1840.

Gentlemen: I duly received, with a proper sense of your kindness, the letter of the 8th of July, requesting my attendance at a public dinner, to be given to-morrow, by the Democratic Republicans of your county, at the Junction, in Hanover, and I regret that official duties, which I am not at liberty to neglect for a single day, forbid my acceptance of so flattering an invitation.

You greatly overrate, gentlemen, my "efficiency in behalf of our principles;" but you cannot overrate my zeal in what I conscientiously believe to be a good cause. The principles involved in "the animated political controversy" now going on, I consider of vital importance to us, and to posterity. I cannot forget the scenes of 1799 and 1800. In vain, did the Republicans then achieve a signal victory, if we are now, at the end of forty years, to be driven from the position we took—if we are to come under the dominion of a party, which, while willing to promote the "well-born," threatened "to grind the people into dust and ashes,"—if we are to adopt the emblem of the *Log Cabin*, or to wear the badge of the *Black Cockade*.

Like every other Administration, the present may have committed errors in matters of expediency: but on the great, cardinal, fundamental doctrines of the Constitution, they are without spot or blemish.

We hear much from our opponents of the abuse of patronage, as if we were to expect more purity, on that score, from them, with the glaring fact before us, that, wherever they have had the power, they have, without compunction, swept off every office-holder, however low, who did not implicitly obey their dictation. They must know, too, that patronage gives no strength to any Administration, in this country—that while it is a dangerous weapon of attack, it is an impotent one in defence. They have tried its efficacy in many of the States, and what has it availed them?

The derangement of the currency is the great battering-ram of the Opposition; but are the Administration to blame for it? Have they created nine hundred Banks, and stimulated the people of the States to excess of enterprise, or to over-action in almost every line of business? It is an inherent vice in our nature, to blame others for our own faults. The object of the present Administration is to conduct the fiscal concerns of the General Government on the simple principle of the Constitution, and to leave to the States, and to the people, the reserved right to manage their own pecuniary affairs, in their own way. They are no more answerable for the evils of a depreciated currency, than for the injuries sustained from the overflowing of the Mississippi, or the tornado at Natchez. That we, in Virginia, should complain of the operation of the Independent Treasury, when we receive and disburse so much more of the public money than we pay into the Treasury, fills me with surprise. This, however, is an ex-

hausted subject, and I will not inflict on you my unimportant views on it. It is now the law of the land, and it is but fair to give it a fair trial.

With regard to our Foreign relations, they have been so admirably managed by the late and present Administrations, that our opponents have not raised a voice on that topic. This is silent, but no small praise.

In conclusion, permit me to add one more remark.—It is not denied, I believe, that the nomination made at Harrisburg for the Presidency was secured by the unyielding votes of those who aimed at the support of the Abolitionists for their candidate. How those worthies (the Abolitionists) can reconcile the strange anomaly of taking a slave-holder for their Vice President, I do not understand, unless it be on the Jesuitical doctrine, that the end justifies the means. At all events, they have the better bargain.—Give us our President, and we will give you your Vice President. What a commentary on political parties!

I am, with high respect and consideration,
Your fellow-citizen,
JOHN BROCKENBROUGH.

(From the *Globe* of August 17.)
JEALOUSY, INGRATITUDE, AND TREACHERY OF GEN. HARRISON

The instance of cruel injustice committed by Harrison in throwing the pall of his report over the name of Col. John Miller, who led what Harrison and his friends now call the most brilliant sortie in our military annals, was noticed in a recent number of our paper. Harrison, but a few days before, had quarrelled with Col. Miller, and his yet unapprised resentment was supposed by Col. Miller and his friends to have induced the General to omit, in the first recital of the names of the gallant officers who performed the glorious achievement, that of the leader of the forlorn hope, to whose personal courage and skillful and judicious conduct of the action left entirely to his discretion, its success is attributable. But the ease of deliberate perfidy, to which we would now invite attention, blighting the laurels won by a stripling in his army, no temporary excitement can be even supposed to lend the slightest mitigation. Cold selfishness, enduring for twenty-six years, characterizes the yet unrepaired wrong. The injured officer was one who had volunteered before he reached manhood, to serve Harrison in his Tippecanoe campaign. On the bloody night of the surprise, he acted as the aid of Boyd, the Commander of the fourth regiment; and all know and admit that to the admirable skill and firmness with which this body of men were made like a rampart to cover the camp, and the broken militia, Harrison and his army owe their deliverance from total destruction. The same young hero, whose voice and bearing, amidst the darkness and dismay of Tippecanoe, inspired with invincible courage the veterans to whom he bore the orders of their Colonel, was conspicuous again in that glorious sortie at Fort Meigs, which gave some light to the day which the butchery or captivity of the whole corps of Kentuckians under Colonel Dudley had clouded with disaster. Under Miller, he led a company of forty men to the assault of the batteries, which were carried. And there he left his whole command, but fourteen men, who alone survived to return with him to the fort. But his greatest service was that at Sandusky; and it was for this that the General required him with that artfully practised wrong, which, from the noble nature of the injured party, and the insidious hypocrisy of his cunning adversary, has, up to this hour, been shrouded in mystery. It is our purpose now to dissipate the obscurity, by authentic and long suppressed documents.

It is proper to give a brief view of the state of things, out of which the secret history which we propose to open up, grew, that the partially known and the concealed facts may shed their light on each other. The reader should look to the map, and take a comprehensive view (with a knowledge of the designs of both sides) of the scene of action of the whole campaign, which the victory obtained by Croghan at Sandusky so gloriously opened, and which the battle fought by Col. Johnson on the Thames as brilliantly closed.

Armstrong, the Secretary of War, had overruled Harrison's idea of carrying the invasion of Canada around the head of the lakes. His plan was to obtain command of the lake by a naval victory, and carry our army into Canada by transports built for the purpose. The fleet to contend for the mastery with the English, was prepared near Erie, under Perry. The transports were built by Jesup, at Cleveland, and Harrison, whose duty it was to cover, with his force, these preparations, took post at Seneca. The lake bends like a bow into Ohio, from Erie, in Pennsylvania, to Sandusky bay. Sandusky is at the western end of the arch—Erie at the eastern extremity—Cleveland is a point on the arch between the two. The British force was on the opposite side of the lake from Sandusky bay. Harrison, with his army was at a considerable distance from the bay, up the Sandusky river—Croghan at the post of Lower Sandusky, being about nine miles nearer the bay. The object of the British was to destroy the prepara-

tions for invasion on the lake shores, and open the whole sweep of its arch in Ohio to the depredations of the Indians, supported by the British fleet and sustained by the land forces as a rallying point in their incursions. To relieve himself from Harrison's force, which he did not doubt would be employed to cover Cleaveland, Proctor made a feint of besieging Fort Meigs a second time. This, he supposed, would withdraw Harrison from Seneca westward, to succor Fort Meigs, and leave his designs upon the boats and stores at Cleaveland, and the fleet at Erie, unobstructed. Harrison did not march to the relief of Fort Meigs. Proctor then came down the bay to Sandusky, in the prosecution of his real object. Harrison no sooner heard of his approach, than he ordered Croghan to burn his fort and retreat, and he had all his own provisions and preparations for the Canada campaign piled for conflagration, and a retreat into the interior, as soon as Croghan joined him. Proctor would thus have obtained, from the fears of Harrison, what his feint on Fort Meigs was intended to effect, by provoking his valor, had not Croghan's courage disappointed Proctor and saved Harrison. Armstrong, then Secretary, thus sums up, in his notices of the war, the conduct of Harrison at this point of time:

"Having, on the 29th, sufficiently assured himself with regard to the number and equipment of Proctor's force, and suspecting that this formidable array might be directed against his own entrenched camp at Seneca, he at once determined 'to collect and destroy his surplus stores, abandon his present position and make good a retreat to Upper Sandusky'—leaving to the fate that might await them, the settlements on the Southern shore of the Lake, the boats built and stores collected at Cleveland, and Perry's fleet, then fitting out and nearly ready for service, at Presque Isle. But though willing and prepared to make these sacrifices, he could not but perceive that a mere presumption of danger to his own camp, would not justify the abandonment of Croghan's detachment, without some effort on his part, to extend to it the eventual security he sought for himself. On this point, however, the General's sense of duty was soon satisfied; forgetting alike the admonition contained in his first order to Croghan, 'not to hazard a retreat in the face of an Indian investment,' and the fact, now perfectly known to himself that such investment did exist; he despatched to that officer a second order, for 'an immediate retreat,' at all hazards; indicating the route by which he was to make it, but taking no step to cover, or otherwise sustain the movement. And, as if the task thus imposed was not in itself sufficiently perilous, he farther prescribed, that the garrison, instead of employing all possible means to mask the operation, should begin 'by setting fire to their stores and barracks,' and thus virtually announce their intention to the surrounding enemy.

"Fortunately, the Great Disposer of the events of this world not unfrequently converts evil into good, and folly into wisdom. On the present occasion, we have seen, that by the first order given to Croghan, he was assigned to the defence of a post, which, in the General's opinion, 'could not be saved,' and at the same time, forbidden to retreat, in the face of an Indian investment; and that by a second, he was ordered to abandon this untenable post, and make good a retreat of nine miles, through a continuous forest filled with savages, without aid or support of any kind."

The circumstances connected with Croghan's refusal to obey the order to burn and retreat, are told for the first time truly in his letter, which we now publish. The result is forcibly told by the Secretary, Armstrong, in the following passage:

"In making this selection, the young and gallant Croghan did not hesitate, and to the demand of a surrender, enforced by the usual menace of indiscriminate slaughter in case of refusal, he answered substantially, that the defence of his post was a point of honor, which could only be satisfied by an actual experiment of the relative force and fortune of his antagonist and himself.

"While this negotiation was in progress, Proctor was employed in landing his artillery and giving it a position in aid of his gun-boats; from which, on the delivery of Croghan's answer, a heavy fire was opened and continued on the fort, with little, if any intermission during the night. At day break, a second battery of three six pounders was established within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets; and about four o'clock, p.m., it was found that the whole fire of the British cannon, was concentrated on the northwest corner of the fort—a circumstance, sufficiently indicating the point and species of attack meditated upon it. Major Croghan, accordingly hastened to employ such means as he possessed to strengthen the menaced angle, and had barely executed his purpose, when the enemy (covering himself with smoke) was seen rapidly advancing, and but a few paces distant from the pickets. A general and well directed fire of musketry from the garrison, which immediately followed this discovery, had the effect of checking his progress and considerably disturbing his order; but the latter being speedily restored, the movement was resumed, and the ditch reached and occupied

by the head of the column. It was at this critical moment that Croghan's single piece of artillery, charged with grape-shot, and so placed as to enfilade the assailants, opened its fire, and with such effect, that in a few minutes, the combat was virtually ended and the battle won. Most of the enemy who had entered the ditch, were killed or wounded; and such of them as were less advanced and able to fly, sought safety in the neighboring woods—carrying with them no disposition to renew the attack, and strongly impressing their Indian allies with their own panic. Proctor now saw, that all attempts to rally the fugitives were hopeless, and that to avoid a greater calamity,* his most prudent course would be, to re-embark what could be collected of his force, red and white, and return immediately to Malden."

We now come to the *unpublished* history connected with this event. It will explain why the results of this victory were carefully kept out of view at the time—why Croghan consented to have his motives for disobeying his orders, misrepresented, and Harrison's conduct in giving them, vindicated—and why Harrison so perseveringly falsified the truth of history in the accounts given by him of this particular transaction, in the two works prepared under his own eye; the first published by McAfee, the second by Dawson.

In bringing forward Colonel Croghan's letters upon this subject, it is proper to state that they were given to us by a gentleman of high standing in Ohio, who, without any communication with Col. Croghan upon the subject, submitted them to us for the press. The facts that these letters were called for by a committee of gentlemen at Wheeling, the friends of Harrison—that Col. Croghan expressed his willingness to give them to the public by referring the committee to General Harrison for the correspondence—that this committee, after having had time to communicate with Gen. Harrison, published a letter as Croghan's, which the late correspondence between Harrison and Croghan shows was not his, but one which his self-sacrificing patriotism permitted Harrison to shape, to suit the exigencies of the time at which it was published—that Harrison's aid, Col. Todd, now conducting a press notoriously set up as the immediate organ of Harrison, declared, in reference to the call by the committee for the correspondence in regard to the contested question of the defence of Fort Stephenson, that there was no "such contested question"—"that history and Col. Croghan's own letter at the day, have placed the subject beyond the necessity of further elucidation"—all these facts, connected with the consideration that if what is said in behalf of Harrison in regard to the call of his own friends for the correspondence, be true; the correspondence itself must be false, render it proper, in justice to the parties and to the public, that the issue made by Colonel Todd's declaration should be tested. We do not publish what purports to be the replies of Harrison, in the copies which we have in our hands, because the history referred to by Col. Todd, as true, is condemned, in the letters purporting to be Harrison's as erroneous. Harrison must therefore deny the authenticity of these letters, or the authority of his friend, Col. Todd, to make the statement on his behalf.

We shall await, then, some intimation on the part of Gen. Harrison or his friends, touching this subject—some recognition of the letters imputed to him, coupled with an expression of a willingness that they may meet "the public eye." In that contingency we shall with alacrity present them in the columns of the *Globe*, in their proper connection.

From the contents of Colonel Croghan's letters, it will be perceived that not a fact stated by him is controverted. It was alone upon the admission of the truth of his statements that the mode of correcting the original misrepresentations was referred to the decision of mutual friends.

Col. Croghan's Letters to Gen. Harrison.

RED HOOK, 1st July, 1818.

Sir: Could I calculate on seeing you within any reasonable time, this letter would not be written; but as there is no prospect of this, I deem it, therefore, most proper in this way to state to you with candor, that reports, or rather statements, have been made to me of such a nature, and from sources so direct and apparently so authentic, as to cause me to hesitate in the language I should bear towards you; and which will, unless positively denied by you, call from me such contradiction as would be extremely unpleasant to me, and, perhaps, mortifying to you.

It is stated that you revised and corrected the work entitled "War in the West," (of which McAfee is the ostensible author,) preparatory to its going to press, thus giving your sanction and authority to the publication of a statement in relation to the defence of Lower Sandusky, most positively incorrect, and which you at the time knew to be in direct contradiction of the

language which you held in the Camp of Seneca during the bombardment of Sandusky by the enemy. "General Harrison," says the author, "discovering from the fire of the enemy that he had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression on the works, felt no apprehension for the safety of the garrison, well knowing that a breach could not be effected, and that without forming a breach, every attempt at escalade could be successfully repelled by the garrison," or words to this amount—a statement as void of truth as possible, as you very well know, recollecting as you must your uneasiness, during the whole continuance of the cannonade, for the safety of the garrison, and which more than once sprung from you this strong language of censure of my conduct: "I wash my hands of it—the blood be on his own head"—language which you had no right to use, and which would have damned my reputation as an officer had I fallen on that occasion.

I am informed that very lately, at a dinner in Philadelphia, when the subject of the defence of Sandusky, was brought up, you expressed yourself in substance thus: The officers and soldiers of that garrison are not so deserving of distinction for its defence as it is generally thought; to the blindness and folly of the enemy, more than to any extraordinary exertions or skill of theirs, is to be ascribed its defeat and their safety: it is true they did very well, but not better than any other like number of troops from my army would have done, &c.; thus continuing on in such an exposition of the affair, as made me, says my informant and others at the table, express an astonishment that the merits of the defence of the Sandusky had been so far overrated, and that the commanding officer had received for such service such applause. Did such conversation ever take place? or have you ever expressed yourself in such manner of the defence of Sandusky, as to induce belief in any one that its garrison received warmer plaudits than it was deserving of? And in asking this may I at the same time require of you an equally candid denial or admission of the statement of your having revised the work of which McAfee is the ostensible author? If it is made to appear from your answer that my informants have reported falsely, they shall know it to their confusion and cost; but if on the other hand there is an affirmation on your part of the truth of their statement, I will immediately take it upon myself to correct the false impression you may have created. I will be in New York until the 1st of October next, to which place I beg your answer may be directed.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

G. CROGHAN.

To Gen. W. H. Harrison, Cincinnati, Ohio.

NEW YORK, Aug. 13, 1818.

Dear Sir: The language of my letter, although warm, was but the expression of my feelings at the time; for I had then scarce a doubt of your hostility towards me, by such an extraordinary chain of coincident circumstances were the reports in truth thereof brought before me.

With every desire to address you as from the long friendship that has existed between us you had a right to expect, I was unable to express myself as I wished, for at each attempt at more dispassionate manner, I became yet more warm at the idea of having so mistaken your character. Nor will you be surprised at this when informed of the manner in which it was produced. In the first place, I was never satisfied with your report of the affair of Sandusky. You eulogized individual gallantry alone, without an attempt at placing the facts before the Government in the important light they merited—thus doing an injury to myself and to others concerned; however, this neglect I found an excuse for at the time; the exasperated state of public feeling, unjustly directed against yourself, rendering it more proper, for a time at least, such facts should be withheld as would tend the further to increase the reputation of the affair.

Secondly. When I heard for more than two years, officers declare that you were inimical to me, (at the same time giving instances in proof,) a book appeared in Kentucky, highly corroborative of these declarations, for in this book (on which it is said you had passed your approbation whilst yet in manuscript) a statement is given of the affair of Sandusky, calculated most completely to lessen its reputation in the opinion of the public. Lastly. When in a degree exasperated at the false coloring given to the affair of Sandusky in the book above referred to, while revolving in my mind a conjecture of the real state of your feelings towards me, I accidentally met with a stranger who recited to me a conversation he had recently held with you, that places the fact of your hostility beyond a question. The conversation here alluded to was expressed at length in my last letter, and to it I might have added another fact which had its place in the chain of connection that you presented to this stranger—McAfee's History: and I may say vouch'd for its correctness, as it was given to him after he had avowed his intention of writing an account of the war.

I might here relate many other facts of like importance in this chain of singular coincidences; but I deem it will readily appear from those I have already stated, that I was slow to believe you capable of improper feeling, and that the warmth of which you complain was the

consequence of unwillingness on my part to trouble you with a recital of the various reports I had heard, until at last they assumed so positive a character as to impress me with almost an entire conviction of their truth.

I may offer these particulars in excuse for the tone and language of my letter; but they do not cause me the less to regret, having betrayed such warmth. You had a right to expect other treatment; and I do not hesitate to say that I have wronged your friendship.

Your letter bears with it all the satisfaction that you could give, or that I can ask. You have denied, in emphatic terms, the truth of the statements that have been made to me, and of course stand acquitted of every charge of improper feelings towards me. The subject, I hope, may stand at rest forever, at least so far as relates to yourself. Should a second edition of McAfee's book be published, I will offer to the publisher an impartial detail of facts in relation to the affair of Sandusky, as a duty which I owe to those brave men who are injured in the statement now before the world; but in whatever I may say, no personal allusions shall be made to yourself, if they can be avoided. Although I no longer harbor a thought of your having ever wilfully injured me, of your having at any time stated any thing with a view to detract from the merits of the defence of Sandusky, I am very far, at the same time, from placing, as I used to do, the strongest reliance on the activity of your friendship for me. I once thought you anxious to seek an occasion to speak in praise of my services. I since find my mistake, and that your neglect of me has gone so far as to cause you to pass from under your eyes a work containing an incorrect account of an affair on which my reputation as a soldier greatly depended, when it was fully in your power to have given it the necessary corrections. Feeling, as I do, that I have striven a great deal in your behalf, and aware that you were conscious of my having at one time rendered you a very signal service, I am surprised, perhaps mortified, that you should have neglected the very favorable opportunity that was offered to you of acknowledging the obligation, by generously publishing to the world a full account of every transaction in relation to the defence of Sandusky. Such a course would not have left me among the number of those who have given proof of mere personal courage, but would have ranked me on the roll of those who have rendered their country signal services, while it would have exalted you as one superior to all selfish considerations, more anxious to render justice to others than to claim it for yourself. I have been educated in the belief that candor was a virtue; I therefore address you in its utmost sincerity. I do not wish to hurt your feelings, but to show you what my own are. I harbor not against you the most remote resentment. I am as willing now as I have ever been to speak in your favor; nor will I ever neglect an opportunity of doing justice to your military worth and services.

I am, very respectfully yours,

G. CROGHAN.

GEN. HARRISON, Cincinnati.

NEW ORLEANS, May 24, 1825.

SIR: I unwillingly renew our correspondence, which I had thought finally closed with my letter of 13th August, 1818, and that I do so will be received by you as an evidence that my feelings towards you are at least not hostile. You will call to mind the particulars of our recent conversation at Washington City, and cannot therefore be surprised at my entering, without circumlocution, upon the subject which then occupied us. Strict justice has never yet been done to the brave men who served with me at Lower Sandusky, and I require it for them at your hands. It would be needless for me to point out in what particulars they have suffered; to you, at least, it should be enough to be referred to McAfee's History of the War in the West, and your own biography recently published in Cincinnati. What is said in either of these books, calculated to place the transactions at Lower Sandusky in a higher point of view before the world than is claimed for the most insignificant affairs of that day? Your answer must be that of every other reader—nothing. I ask no more for myself, General Harrison, than I have a right to claim for every soldier who served under me. But might I not ask for more at your hands? If you have one spark of grateful recollection, you will answer, yes—more, much more. Did I not literally sacrifice myself to save you? Did I not, at a moment when the excitement against you throughout the whole State of Ohio, amounting to general clamor, when there was almost mutiny in your very camp at Seneca, do every thing that you and your friends required of me as necessary to reinstate you in the good opinion of the people and of the army? The success of our army required that you, the general-in-chief, should have the confidence of all; and to insure that, I signed addresses, without reading them, because I was told that it was necessary; wrote letters approving throughout your conduct, and subject to your corrections, without asking what they might be, because I was assured by members of your family that you yourself believed that on my expressions in relation to you much depended. But of what I did for you, enough—of what you have done

* A fear that Harrison would quit his camp at Seneca, and pounce upon him in his then crippled state. It is worthy of notice, that of these two commanders, (always the terror of each other,) one, was now actually flying from his supposed pursuer; while the other, waited only the arrival of Croghan at Seneca, to begin a camp conflagration, and flight to fort Meigs.

for me, there is nothing to be told. You have personally pledged yourself to correct any false impressions that may have been created by the publication of the two works above mentioned; in a word, to speak of all things in relation to the transactions in Sandusky as they deserve.

We are told in McAfee's History, "General Harrison, discovering from the fire of the enemy that he had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression upon the work, felt not a moment alarmed for the safety of the garrison, well knowing that a breach could not be effected, and that without effecting a breach every attempt at escalade could be successfully repelled." General Harrison, is this the fact? Did you not, during the whole of the bombardment of thirty-six hours, evince more emotion than could have been induced by a belief that the garrison was not endangered? Did you not, in the extremity of your apprehensions, more than once cry out, "The blood be on his own head—I wash my hands of it?" And was there one man of all of your camp at Seneca (the gallant Wood excepted) who believed that, without the most desperate resistance, the garrison could prevail against the attacks of the enemy? Answer these queries, and fairly. I demand it of you as a right. If the statement in McAfee's book be correct, then where is the merit of the defence of Sandusky?—State candidly the facts, without eulogium on any of us; for each one who served there would be judged by his works. Tell to the world that, when you fell back on Seneca, leaving, as a garrison for Sandusky, but 150 men, the works of the place were measurably defenceless—that the pickets which connected the block-houses were so loosely planted, that the efforts of a single man could pull many of them up—that there was no ditch about the work, nor any outward defence to oppose to an assailing force—that but few entrenching tools were left behind, and those unwillingly—and to all this, that there were spared to us scarce 40 rounds of musket cartridges per man, without a single prepared cartridge or one ounce of powder for the only piece of artillery in the place. Then state the appearance of the defences, on your coming down immediately after the defeat and flight of the enemy. The brave men who toiled there during ten days and nights to put themselves in a posture of defence, are as much entitled to credit for it, as they are deserving of praise for their gallantry after the coming of the enemy.

Having enlarged on these points as far as may be due to the truth, I would then have you speak of every other circumstance in relation to the affair of Sandusky (both anterior and subsequent) calculated to place it in its proper light. I have been told it already occupies its proper place—that every thing in relation to it is well understood and duly appreciated. Can you join in any expressions of this kind? Surely you cannot; for you know too well what was done on that frontier, and how much immediately around Sandusky, that has never come to light. If my services have been duly appreciated, then truly have I been resting too contentedly upon what I have done; for no public expression, conveying an assurance of the grateful sense in which my services are held, has ever yet reached me. You may say that I received a sword from the ladies of Chillicothe, and that I was also brevetted by the President; for the first I feel as a soldier ought to feel for a gift which he should prize as his life; as for the latter, I regard it as a thing of no value, and not to be considered, for brevets had been dealt out by the dozen, and often times to those who had never seen an enemy. My name was once before Congress for a vote of thanks, and it was rejected as unworthy an expression of its approbation. When I was thus so flatteringly passed upon, was Congress, in your opinion, informed of all that I had done in the Northwest? You will say that it was not. And when, at a very recent period, too, I was compelled by my necessities to ask a place, and an unimportant one, and found difficulties and vexations when I had expected every thing the reverse, had I not a right to believe that my claims to preference were considered but of the same rank with those of every other applicant for office?—The world knows that there was a repulse of the enemy at Lower Sandusky, but what further does it know calculated to enhance it above the most trivial affairs of the war? Does it know that I disobeyed your orders to abandon the place, and that this disobedience saved your army from a precipitate retreat, and perhaps the whole frontier from the incursions of a savage foe?—A council of your general and field officers decided upon the propriety of falling back upon Upper Sandusky; every arrangement was made for a precipitate retreat, and the signal of departure was to be given at the moment of my joining. I care not. Your order was disobeyed, and you were thus saved from the of a retrograde step. The consequences of the repulse of the enemy at Lower Sandusky were, as you have long known, more important than can be conceived by any one unacquainted with the topography of the section of country under view, and the position of the opposing forces. How you would have fared had I been captured, you can best conjecture; at all events, it did appear that, at the time, you believed the enemy more than a match

for you. And what would have been the consequences of your defeat. A smoking frontier of more than five hundred miles in extent. What saved the boats and the immense stores concentrated at Cleveland under the direction of Major, now Gen. Jesup? What also prevented a combined attack of land and naval forces upon the fleet of Commodore Perry at Erie, at a time when its destruction must have been certain? My disobedience of your orders—my subsequent defeat and repulse of the enemy at Sandusky. Gen. Proctor, on leaving Detroit in July, 1813, had no other object in view than the destruction of the fleet of Commodore Perry at Erie, and of the military stores and boats at Cleveland. He blockaded Fort Meigs merely as a cover to his real intentions, and to afford him an opportunity of ascertaining what reinforcements were marching out, that he might be assured of the safety of Detroit during his absence. Satisfied of this, he left Fort Meigs with a force of at least 3,000 men (Indians included) in furtherance of the grand objects of the expedition. On reaching the point of crossing, at the entrance of Sandusky bar, his Indian force refused to go further on the lake, without first taking the scalps and plunder at Fort Sandusky. General Proctor, from his own written statement, (now in your hands,) unwillingly indulged them. An attack was made—it failed—and with heavy loss. The Indians deserted to a man, and thus an expedition, originally well planned, and fraught with deadly consequences to our cause, was completely defeated by a force of 150 men, of whom nothing was expected, and for whom nothing further in praise has been offered than was extracted from McAfee's History of the War in the West. Respectfully,

G. CROGHAN.

Gen. W. H. HARRISON, Cincinnati, Ohio.

NEW ORLEANS, 8th Aug., 1825.

Dear Sir: You will allow me to express surprise that no answer has been returned to my letter of the 24th May last; not even an acknowledgment of its receipt. That I wrote you was at your own request. I had therefore every reason to flatter myself with a belief that I should hear from you without loss of time. I am fully decided upon having all the facts in relation to the transactions at Lower Sandusky placed before the world; and will, therefore, unless something satisfactory be shortly obtained from you, publish the letters which have passed between us, that it may be at once seen of what I complain, and with how much cause. This is not offered as a threat—far from it—but to show you that I am in earnest, and that I may be forced by you to have recourse to a most disagreeable altercation.

Yours, G. CROGHAN.
To Gen. Wm. H. HARRISON, Cincinnati, Ohio.

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 22, 1825.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 31st August was received this morning. Let your expose of the Sandusky affair be as it may, my letters of the 24th May and 5th ult. cannot be withdrawn; to do so, were to admit their statements are incorrect. Should the publication of Dawson's supplement be satisfactory, I will of course proceed no further in the matter; in truth, I will be satisfied with much less than is asked for in my letter of the 24th May; for I care not that the world should know how far I lent myself to serve the public, and to save you. My letter of the 24th May was not written for the public eye, else it had been differently worded; it was for yourself alone; and intended to operate upon your feelings of generosity, which, in relation to myself, had been dormant for twelve years, greatly to my injury, and it was, therefore, that I placed before you, in the strongest language of which I was capable, those facts which seemed best calculated to operate upon the feelings I was desirous of calling into action. My letter of 8th August, which you have determined on construing into a threat of the most offensive character, was written with no other view than the one expressed, to prove to you that I was in earnest; for I had every reason to believe that without an occasional hint of the kind, you might, in your forgetfulness, let slip a third opportunity for rendering justice to those who fought at Sandusky.

Yours, G. CROGHAN.
To Gen. Wm. H. HARRISON, Cincinnati, Ohio.

NEW ORLEANS, Dec. 20, 1825.

Dear Sir: I did not immediately answer your letter of the 24th October, because, there appears no call for haste, and moreover I have been, since its receipt, occasionally unwell, and occupied more than usually in the business of my office. I willingly accede to the proposition made by you for referring the matter between us to some of our mutual friends, and will abide by their decision, provided no contradiction be given by you to the statements contained in the letters which I shall offer in evidence. I thus reserve to myself the right of a rejoinder, if it is necessary. A correct copy of our correspondence will be immediately forwarded to General Jesup, to be laid before the Board.

Respectfully yours,
G. CROGHAN.
To Gen. W. H. HARRISON, Washington City.

(From the *Globe* of Aug. 18.)

HARRISON AND CROGHAN.

The injustice and ingratitude of Harrison to Croghan, is displayed by the following facts, which are gathered from the statements of the letters of the latter, not contradicted by the former, and circumstances which have been gradually revealed by the officers who were apprized of the whole truth.

It appears that the officers, after the defeat of the British and Indians by Croghan, conscious that by impairing the confidence of the country in the General, (whom it was not supposed the Government would cashier,) the ardent hope of being reinforced by volunteers, and enabled to invade Canada, might be disappointed, agreed to cover over the transaction for the time. The officers with Harrison were deeply interested in this course; for a council of general and field officers had concurred with Harrison in the necessity of falling back on Upper Sandusky, leaving to their fate the transports built at Cleveland by Jesup, and all the immense stores and preparations to invade Canada, concentrated there, to certain destruction, as well as the naval preparations of Perry, which could not have been defended for an instant against an attack by Proctor's force at sea and land. Croghan, who had conquered the enemy with an hundred and fifty men, (from whom Harrison had determined to fly with 2,000,) and abandon everything upon which the projected campaign against Canada depended,) consented, with a devoted patriotism, equalled only by his heroism, that all that conspired to do him honor might be suppressed for the time lest it should destroy all confidence in the commander, and so defeat the enterprise.

In compliance, then, with the necessity under which Harrison's panic had placed him, every thing calculated to show the importance of the exploit of Croghan, and the weakness of the conduct of the General in regard to it, was carefully concealed in his report and the certificate statements issued—and downright misrepresentation was added in the former, where suppression was not sufficient to cover the most disgraceful part of the General's failure.

The General suppresses in his report the following facts:

That he had declared that the fort "could not be saved."

That he had ordered "an immediate retreat at all hazards;" that the fort should be stripped of its stores, and promptly abandoned on the approach of the enemy."

That he had piled up his own provisions and equipment for conflagration, preparatory to a precipitate retreat, for which he had obtained the sanction of the general and field officers around him:

That the refusal of Croghan to obey his order had alone arrested the execution of the design:

That he sent for Croghan, and brought him to his camp, and restored him to the command only under such conditional and equivocal orders to maintain the post, as would rid the General of all responsibility for its failure:

That the squadron of horse which acted as the escort in bringing Croghan from the General's presence, cuts its way through the whole body of Indians, by whom the fort was invested, and thus ascertained that in the open wood with which the place was surrounded, the cavalry could act with the greatest effect, and without danger, drive the Indians before them, and open the way to succor; the Indians did not, and have never been able to withstand an attack of cavalry on ground where it can act:

That notwithstanding the successful experiment of the squadron of horse in driving the Indians in a few minutes' skirmish, the General did nothing to support the gallant Croghan and his companions during an investment of two days:

That while thus, during the continuance of the conflict, declining to take the slightest responsibility on himself in the effort to support the fort, he openly, in the presence of those by whom he was surrounded, attempted to throw in advance, the responsibility of the apprehended disaster upon Croghan, by again and again exclaiming, "the blood be upon his own head—I wash my hands of it!"

That although the enemy remained seven or eight hours after their defeat, Harrison, who was within an hour's gallop of them, did not follow up the blow which spread panic through the ranks of both British and Indians, "but (to use his own words in his report) as soon as I was informed that the enemy were retreating, I set out with the dragoons to endeavor to overtake them, leaving General McArthur and corps to follow with all the infantry (about 700) that could be spared from the protection of the stores, [query, the stores piled up for burning?] and the sick at this place. I found it impossible to come up with them!!!"

The results of this brilliant and heroic achievement to the country, are also kept out of view. The campaign would have been ended on our side by the destruction of the boats and stores at Cleveland, with the preparations of Perry; and the contemplated flight of Harrison would have left the whole frontier open to the enemy. The victory of Croghan not only averted this,

but it preserved the means of carrying the volunteers under Governor Shelby and Johnson to the opposite shores, and gave the latter the glory of vanquishing, with his single regiment, the British and Indian force; taking six hundred British regulars, and marching them back to Harrison's lines—killing and scattering the Indian host which were sheltered in the swamp.

It was not to have been expected that Harrison should have mentioned any circumstances tending to his own shame. The ungrateful wrong complained of by Croghan, consists in the deliberate preparation of a false history to make it appear that he (Harrison) had no reason, at the crisis of Croghan's gallant conflict, to apprehend the fall of the fort; that therefore he had not a motive to make an exertion to support it, and that Croghan deserves no great credit for maintaining it. All this he accomplished by a very brief comment on what is reduced to a very trivial affair, as treated by him historically.

"General HARRISON, discoloring from the fire of the enemy that he had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression upon the work, felt not a moment alarmed for the safety of the garrison, well knowing that a breach could not be effected, and that without effecting a breach, every attempt at escalade could be successfully repelled."

The injustice and ingratitude of this falsification of history were deeply felt and resented by Croghan, in his first letter, and it is apparent from his second letter that Harrison admitted the wrong, and agreed to repair it. The nobleness of Croghan's nature shows itself in the readiness with which he is soothed by a promise of redress. But it was a false promise; and, having accomplished its purpose, in satisfying Croghan, with "hope deferred," Harrison, years afterwards, renewed the experiment of repeating the falsehood, in a biography prepared under his own eye and direction, by Mr. Dawson. This called forth another and a fiercer demand for redress from Croghan, from which Harrison—it is apparent from the face of Croghan's replies to him—by new promises and concessions, again delivered himself by the artifice of submitting to the arbitration of friends the mode in which the admitted wrong should be redressed. The arbitration never took place, and the manner in which Harrison eluded it is another example of the triumph of selfish cunning over noble nature. Of this we shall speak whenever (if ever) Harrison allows his share of the correspondence to be exhibited to "the public eye."

The injustice and ingratitude of Harrison are apparent in the details to which we have pointed. His treachery lurks in the mode in which he has treated the call of his Wheeling committee. They have published (doubtless directly or indirectly under Harrison's instruction) the letter published in 1813, and shaped by Harrison himself to suit the purpose of concealing the true state of facts, the very suspicion of which had greatly impaired his standing with the public. This letter Croghan asserts, in his late correspondence, was prepared for Harrison, and suffered to undergo his corrections, without knowing what they were, and the latter does not deny it. He gave in fact a *carte blanche* to Harrison to say what he pleased in his (Croghan's) name, to save himself; and now these misrepresentations of Harrison's own pen are brought up to sustain fabricated historical statements to Croghan's disadvantage, even after Harrison has admitted, in writing, these statements to be erroneous, and promised to correct them. Of the papers now brought forward to vouch the historical misstatements, Croghan thus speaks in his correspondence with Harrison:

"Did I not literally sacrifice myself to save you? Did I not, at a moment when the excitement against you throughout the whole State of Ohio, amounting to general clamor, when there was almost mutiny in your very camp at Seneca, do every thing that you and your friends required of me as necessary to reinstate you in the good opinion of the people and of the army? The success of our army required that you, the general-in-chief, should have the confidence of all: and to insure that, I signed addresses, without reading them, because I was told that it was necessary; wrote letters approving throughout your conduct, and subject to your corrections, without asking what they might be, because I was assured by members of your family that you yourself believed that on my expressions in relation to you much depended. But of what I did for you, enough—of what you have done for me, there is nothing to be told. You have personally pledged yourself to correct any false impressions that may have been created by the publication of the two works above mentioned; in a word, to speak of all things in relation to the transactions in Sandusky as they deserve."

Harrison will not say that one syllable of this is controverted in his reply to Croghan; and yet his organ at Cincinnati brings up, as true, the history he admits to be false, and promises to correct—and his committee republish the disowned papers to prove the falsified history! This we consider treachery to the friendship which sacrificed so much to save him, and it casts a shadow back to the scenes at Sandusky in 1813, that gives them the blackest complexion.*

THE LOW PRICES.

Hear the testimony of a Whig journal on the question of the low prices of grain, wool and other agricultural products. We copy the following remarks from this morning's Journal of Commerce. They form the leading article in that paper:

"**PRODUCERS.**—The last year was one of great abundance in agricultural products. The crops of cotton and bread stuffs were greater than ever before. Business has been extremely dull all the year, and yet our stores are exhausted. The wants of producers have caused them to carry their crops very generally to market, so that whether we believe it or not, a much larger quantity of produce has been disposed of in the great markets than during any former year. The cotton mills in Europe and here, it is said, have been standing still, and yet, one way or another, the quantity of cotton spun this year exceeds that spun last year by more than the whole crop a few years ago. The stocks of cotton in all the ports are now small, and as for flour and all sorts of bread stuffs, there are almost no stock at all. Our store houses are empty and ready for the reception of the bounties with which Providence is again crowning our agricultural labors. All this must bring our affairs right. It has in fact a great measure done so already. The overwhelming losses sustained in the tremendous fall of property during the last three years, cannot be repaired in the case of thousands of worthy men who have been broken down under them. But new business is now going well, and evidently getting better from month to month. This improvement must continue to go on as fast as the best interests of the country allow; and we expect to see a restoration of brisk activity at an earlier period than is generally supposed."

It is thus admitted by one of the public supporters of the Whig party, that "the improvement" of the times is going on "as fast as the best interests of the country allow." This improvement is going on too under a Democratic Administration. Commerce is recovering from its confusion and embarrassments as rapidly as is desirable, with Mr. Van Buren for President and a majority of his friends in Congress. The system of policy adopted by him and the party which support him is so friendly to the interests both of producers and merchants, so just both to those who till the soil and those who find a market for its harvests, that the election of General William H. Harrison is not necessary in order to "bring our affairs right," in the phrase of the Journal of Commerce. They will be brought right by the cause which that print points out—that is to say, by the abundance of agricultural products in the hands of the farmer, a deficiency of supply in the warehouses of the merchant, and a demand on the part of consumers which cannot much longer be postponed. The pretence that we cannot again have good times without a change of the administration is, according to the admission of the Journal of Commerce, a wholly groundless one. The times are improving, it asserts, as fast as they ought.

These admissions would not have been made by a journal enlisted in the support of the Whig party, had their truth been at all doubtful. They give precisely that view of the case which any perfectly well informed man must take, and, unless he is a knave, must avow.

Yet we are told that when the wool-growers in the country take their fleeces to the Whig manufacturer, they are accosted in this manner:—"The measures of the present administration have destroyed our business, and we cannot offer you such prices as we could wish. Help us to turn out Van Buren and put Harrison in his place, and we shall be able to give you a high price for your wool." There are two motives for holding this language—one, that it is the trick of an adroit purchaser to seize upon every pretext for obtaining an abatement on what he wishes to buy; the other motive is party perversity, malignity or prejudice.—There is little doubt we believe, that to gratify this malignity or this prejudice, the producer of wool has been refused a market, when the manufacturer might have been a gainer by a fair purchase. There is already an advance upon the prices of woollens in the market, and this ought to lead to an advance in the price of wool, and to a revival of activity on the part of the domestic manufacturer. It is very common to find men so obstinate in their party prejudices, that they will submit to considerable inconvenience themselves, if by subjecting others to a still greater inconvenience, they see the means of obtaining a party triumph. The moment the question of the Presidential election is decided, whether it be for Van Buren or for Harrison, we shall see such of the Whigs as have been holding back in business for the sake of party effect, again actively engaged, and the stream of trade so long dammed up, flowing with double rapidity.

It is very true, as the Journal of Commerce says, that the immense losses suffered by many in the late crash which followed the expansions of the currency and the insane speculations of 1836, cannot be repaired. CANNOT, is the true phrase; the thing is impossible; the world has come to its senses, and the delusions of that time, delusions fatal, we admit, to many most worthy men, can no more be revived in the present state of the public mind than the belief in the philosopher's stone. No change of the Administration, no new course of public policy can bring them back, although most certainly it may prepare the way for reviving them hereafter, with all their mischiefs, when the lesson learned from recent events is somewhat forgotten; and this is the very evil to be feared from the election of Harrison.

In the mean time, it is folly to look for a revival of the prices and speculations of 1836; and it would be

madness to wish it, since, if they could be revived tomorrow, they would only be followed in a short time by the reaction from which we are now recovering. Yet there is no doubt that, as prices in general were at that period exorbitantly high, so now the prices of many things are inordinately low, and if we leave the course of trade to itself, instead of interfering by legislative quackery, the proper adjustment will take place, prices will come gradually to the true average standard, and all kinds of business will be re-established on a safe and solid basis.

WHO IS DOCTOR DUNCAN?—Dr. Duncan shall answer for himself, at least so far as the Slavery question is concerned. We copy at length this morning, (see 4th page,) his letter to the Abolition Committee of Cincinnati, just prior to his last election. Let the people of the South read it, and see what sort of allies they have in the Democrats of the non-slaveholding States. The subject is fruitful of comment, but we have neither leisure nor room now to indulge in it. Let the people read for themselves.

Lynchburg Virginian.

Dr. Duncan is no more of an Abolitionist than the Editor of the Virginian. He is an anti-slavery man only, and deprecates and did deprecate in the very Speech, a part of which the Virginian published, the designs and objects of the Abolitionists. Is not General Harrison, if not an Abolitionist, to say the least, an anti-slavery man? Was not Henry Clay deferred at Harrisburg on account of his pro-slavery Speech the session of Congress preceding? None can deny it. Yet Dr. Duncan, who is anti-slavery and anti-abolition, is to be denounced, whilst Gen. Harrison, the Whig candidate, anti-slavery only, is to be held up as a paragon of perfection and beauty for the South. But, if you complain of Duncan and throw him up to us, what will you do with your party at the North? It is composed altogether of Abolitionists and *quasis*. Your members of Congress even from the North have, according to ancient tests, shown themselves Abolitionists. Where is your Gates, your Adams, and Evans, and Clarke, and Smith, and Slade, and Saltonstall, and a host of others? Why do you not draw them upon the stand and read out their sentence to them? Oh, no! they are your own flock; let them pass. They are "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh"—but a Van Buren anti-slavery man only is to suffer for his "heresy" all the tortures of the "rack," whilst the guilty culprits are permitted to pass by unpunished and approved. We do not pretend to perfection in everything. We are willing to admit, for the sake of this principle, though we cannot see how an Abolitionist can support Van Buren, that there may be some in our ranks, and what of it? How can we prevent it, further than not to confide the direction of affairs to them? What! would you have us kill and crucify them?—Would you hold the majority responsible for what one or more of a minority might do? Would you or could you, without reversing the order of things altogether? It is nonsense to endeavor to excite a prejudice against a whole party, for an act of a minority disapproved by the majority. If we favored Abolition as a party, there would be good ground to denounce us; but, when every man of sense must know, and of candor must admit, that as a party we are and have always opposed to Abolition, it is wicked and atrocious to charge upon us as a party, the opinions of an individual, with a view of exciting prejudice against the innocent, and screening the guilty! The Whig party, as a party, in the Northern States, have done more since Van Buren's election, to advance the cause of Abolition, than the Abolitionists of themselves, unaided and despised, could have done in half a century; and if harm grows out of it, "the blood be on thy head, Croghan—I wash my hands of it."

Will the Virginian read the letter of Duncan?

LETTER OF DR. DUNCAN.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) July 18, 1840.

Sir—Your favor of July 7th, came to hand, desiring me, (in a kind spirit, as I suppose,) to repel the charges which the Bank Federal Whigs are making against me of Abolitionism. In your letter, you enclose me an anonymous handbill, which you say my enemies are circulating, &c. That handbill contains some garbled extracts from a letter which I wrote in the fall of 1838, on the eve of my re-election to Congress. The extracts consist of isolated sentences and half sentences, to prove or to make the impression that I am an Abolitionist. I think, with a judicious and reflecting community, I have nothing unfavorable to fear from a nameless handbill. I think, an intelligent and high-minded community, will repudiate a garbled expose of a public letter or communication, when it is intended to affect, for good or for evil, the reputation of any one, whether civilly or politically. They will demand the whole communication, before they will give a verdict against whom it is intended to affect.

Why am I, a citizen of a free State, called upon and denounced for Abolitionism? Would it not be better for the Federal Whigs of the South to look to the conduct of their own Whig members, who sit here for whole sessions shoulder to shoulder, and knee to knee, with Northern Abolitionists, known to be engaged in trying to overthrow the slave institutions of the South, at the hazard of destroying the Union; acting with them upon all other questions, like a band of brothers? The overthrow of the Administration, at all hazards, is their

watchword. I might here ask, too, why it is, that my opinions in relation to Abolitionism are made the subject of investigation in Alabama, or in any other State, than the one I have the honor in part to represent. I am not asking the people of Alabama for any office in their gift. I am no candidate for the Presidency or Vice Presidency. I, in common with every other American citizen, ought to be permitted to entertain and express any opinion which I might think proper in relation to any and all public questions which may interest our common country. Your letter suggests the answer. It is to neutralize any effect which my humble efforts might have to sustain the present Administration and the Democratic principles.

The Federal Whigs award more influence to me than I claim for myself; and the proof is to be found in the constant and unceasing torrent of slander, falsehood, misrepresentation, which they pour upon me. Of this, I should not complain; for, if I have any political standing in this country, I am indebted to Federal Whig slander for it. "Mine enemies do me good service." I hope they will continue. When they cease to abuse me, I will cease to have confidence in my political course, efforts and principles. When my enemies withdraw from me an expression of their hostility, I expect to lose my friends; for, I have no claims upon them as a party for any service I have rendered to them, or my country. I hope they will continue their abuse; it is all-important to me. But in the mean time I owe it to candor to say, if they hate me worse as a partisan than I hate them as a party, it is because they have a natural talent for hatred that I have not, and the fault is not mine.

But to return to Abolitionism. I have stated, that in the Fall of 1838, I wrote a letter in reply to some interrogatories put to me by the Abolitionists of my district. In that letter, I did as every man, who has been reared in a free State, will do—I deprecated slavery in the abstract. I spoke of it as an evil whenever and wherever it existed. I fixed its evils and its consequences upon no particular age, century, time or place, but spoke of it generally in the abstract.

In the same letter, I attempted to portray the evils of Abolition. I spoke of slavery as having had its beginning in this country before the American Revolution; of its continuance, as one of the conditions upon which this Federal Union was established. I feared that a practical adoption of Abolition principles would be productive of greater evils to the community, and the unfortunate African, than even slavery itself. I stated in substance, that a consummation of Abolition principles would be a violation of the Constitution of the U. S.; of the Constitutions of the slave States, as well as of the individual rights of the people, who had a property in their slaves. In what way could any man express himself in stronger terms against Abolitionism? I might also refer you to several of my speeches in Congress since made, for the stand I have taken against modern Abolitionism. But all these go for nothing with the Bank Whigs; it best suits their purpose to present the garbled extracts contained in the anonymous handbill, which you enclose me, and which you inform me is overspeaking your country. But I have no doubt, that an effort so base, for the purpose of political deception, will meet the reward it merits at the hand of an honest and intelligent community. The same No. of the Philanthropist (an Abolition paper published in Cincinnati) that published the letter in question, contained an Editorial article, denouncing me and my anti-Apolition principles, in no measured terms, and advising all good Abolitionists to withhold their votes in the coming election from me. That must be a strange letter that places me between two fires—that makes me equally obnoxious to the Whig Southern slave holder and the modern Abolitionist. My position is somewhat embarrassing, somewhat complicated, but not inexplicable. The Whig Abolitionists denounce me because I am an anti-Abolitionist—the Whig slave holders denounce me because I am not a British-Bank-Whig. I regard the denunciations of both about as much as I do the dust that sticks to my shoes, only as they serve to give me character with the party to which I am attached, and to which it is my pride to belong.

I am no Abolitionist. Whatever feeling I have on the subject of emancipation, is in favor of colonization. I cannot but look upon the practical operations of Abolition as more dangerous than any evil, that could befall our country and our Union.

I believe that Abolition has done much to defeat the very object that it seeks to accomplish. Before the introduction of modern Abolition, colonization was doing much to lay the foundation for general emancipation. Many highly respectable and influential citizens of the slave States were co-operating in the work of colonization. Before the introduction and spread of Abolition, the slaves in many of the States enjoyed privileges and immunities of which they have been deprived, to secure their owners and the community from the effects of mutiny and outrages which it was feared Abolition would inspire the slaves to commit.

Colonization has for its object the voluntary and gradual emancipation of slaves, not by means of incendiary

publications and speeches, but by the consent of their owners, who will always be governed by their interests and the public good. By such a course emancipation may be slow, but it will be sure and safe. Public peace will be maintained, private property secured, and our institutions preserved.

I believe (in the language of another) that colonization has done something—Abolition has done nothing but agitate. Colonization has founded an empire—Abolition (whether intentional or not) has labored to overthrow one. Colonization has redeemed some thousands of slaves, and set them up in an independent commonwealth—Abolition has not redeemed one, but has riveted the chains of those it professes to pity, and aggravated their bondage. Colonization interferes not with the political institutions of our own country, but acquiesces with the public authorities, and solicits their counsel and control. Abolition has set up an *imperium in imperio*—a State within the State, to revolutionize the State, and made war upon the national Constitution.

If I were capable of advising my countrymen, and if I had the voice of thunder, I would speak in peals to the ear of every American citizen who may have unwarily entangled himself in the meshes of Abolitionism, to desist; to abandon a project and a policy which so endangers our best interest—a policy, which can only be consummated at the expense of our happy and prosperous Union, and one, too, that strikes at the very foundation of that Constitution which was purchased and sealed by the blood of our ancestors, and which it is our first political and moral duty, as well as our highest interest to maintain in its pristine purity, and transmit it to those who are to come after us, as pure and as uncontaminated as it descended to us—a policy which, to carry out, must subvert the Southern State institutions, overthrow their Constitutions, and violate the rights of individuals.

Cannot the philanthropist of the free States find objects at home for the full sway of his charity? It cannot be denied, that the free States, with all their boasted institutions, and with all the comforts they spread to their citizens, still have many objects of charity and commiseration, those whose conditions are such as to demand all the means that philanthropy has in her power to bestow on them. I would say, then, to the Abolitionist, if philanthropy is his object, look to the condition of those of your own State and your own color; surely they have a superior claim upon you; upon them you can exercise the obligations due to charity, to the full extent of your means, and that, too, in the exercise of the highest and most honorable principles of virtue, justice, the rights of others, and the Constitution. Leave the slave States to themselves, and let them manage their own institutions in their own way. If slavery is an evil, it is not ours. If evil consequences grow out of it, those consequence will not fall on us; we of the free States have about as much as we can do to manage our own affairs. The adage that "there is a time and a place for every thing, and every thing should be in its time and place," applies. I say, let the people of the slave States do their business in their own time and place. If we will let them alone, we will have more time and opportunity to devote to the duties which appertain to ourselves, as well as those who look to us for protection, and claim our commiseration and charity.

Make what use you please of this communication.
I am yours in sincerity,
A. DUNCAN.

SAM'L V. WATKINS.

P. S. If anonymous handbills, foul slander, unblushing falsehood, and naked and reckless misrepresentation, are to have weight in the coming contest with the honest and unsuspecting part of the community, the great object of Bank Federalism will be consummated. This Administration, and the Democratic party, will be overthrown, for such is the concerted plan with the Opposition to electioneer.

A. D.

The Whig Executive Committee at Washington.

The following striking and just description is given by Mr. Lewis, member of Congress from Alabama.—This Committee has flooded the country with Speeches, &c., under their franks, to promote the election of the Whig candidate. They have lately shingled over North Carolina with them. They are still at work at Washington; that is to say, two of the Committee are still there, viz: Rice Garland, appointed a Judge in Louisiana, who is still doing the offices of a Committee, instead of the duties of a Judge—and John C. Clark of New York, the most active member of the Committee, and an avowed Abolitionist. It is he, this Abolitionist, who is now most actively attempting to control the politics of the South, and dictating a President to us.—It was but the other evening, that (as a gentleman writes) they sent to the Washington Post Office, to be scattered over the country, two wagon loads of franked documents.—And more still! They are using the public facilities at Washington, for their mischievous purposes.—Another letter from Washington of the 22d says: "The directing Committee, J. C. Clark & Co., are at this time using the public papers, furnished by the Whig Clerks of the Clerk to the H. of R. Such an outrage was never attempted before. The Clerk's office is left in the hands of Whigs, who furnish the public paper, and

envelope their documents and untruths, at the public expense to poison the minds of the People.

Whence the enormous funds which this Whig Committee have expended? From rich Whigs, from Banking men, perhaps from Banks, and if a letter from London of July 28, published in the New York Evening Post be correct, some of these funds are contributed by English stockholders. The letter from a Commercial house in London, states upon the authority of "a prominent American merchant," (a decided opponent of Mr. Van Buren,) "that persons in this country interested in American securities have already contributed and forwarded to America, a large amount of money to be used in the coming election, in aid of the party opposed to President Van Buren, and that a much larger amount will follow, if it can be used with effect."

It is by this species of machinery, thus perhaps put in motion, that a Whig Cabal (the Whig Executive Committee) is to control the votes of the People of the U. S.

MR. DIXON H. LEWIS.
Letter to William S. Phillips of Cahaba, Alabama.
(EXTRACTS.)

H. OF REPRESENTATIVES, June 24, 1840.

"Now, Sir, as you have commenced your system of suppressing Democratic documents, no doubt with a view of giving, upon the principle of your party, a "monopoly" to the circulation of Whig documents by the Whig Central Committee, will you answer, before the country, whether you have had any correspondence, either directly or indirectly, with this Committee? I know, Sir, I have no right to insist upon an answer to this question; but conscious innocence 'shuns no question, and wears no mask.' I wish to know, and I wish the country to know, whether you have solicited documents from them, while you have rejected them from me. In short, I wish it known, how far you have had any alliance or connection with them beyond that of belonging to the party of which they are the accredited leaders and head. The pertinence of these questions may seem to grow out of the old adage, 'that a man is known by the company he keeps.' But, Sir, I acquit you of any other charge, than that of intimate political association with those, who, I shall prove to you, are so unworthy, that, in the face of the community, you must feel ashamed of any association with them, even to the extent of belonging to the same party to which they are attached. I shall show, by a circular letter from them, that they have solicited the appointment of Executive Corresponding Committees, for the purpose of county organization; and I doubt whether there are half a dozen counties in the State of Alabama, where they have not such committee, secretly appointed and unknown to the people in that capacity, but faithfully performing the bests of the Great Central Junto at this place: and I should not be candid, were I not to state frankly my suspicions that you are yourself a member of such a committee, and were so at the time of sending back my document, although perhaps you are not known as such to 50 men in Dallas county. Be this as it may, this Central Committee has been eminently successful in my District, in establishing Corresponding Executive Committees in the several counties, as I have reason to know. That they have, in most places, a more perfect list of names than I have been able to procure, I also know; and that their knowledge in relation to political movements in many parts of my District, and particularly in my own county, is more minute and accurate than my own, I am fully convinced. In addition to this most perfect political organization ever known, except by the same party in the Reign of Terror, this Central Committee has circulated during the present session, an amount of documents beyond the pecuniary ability of any party not containing within its ranks nine-tenths of the makers of paper money. I have received letters upon letters from my friends, complaining that this committee were flooding the country with 10 Whig documents for every Democratic document that I could send them; and when, at last, I and my Democratic colleagues found we could no longer compete in means with this Central Committee, enriched, as we believed, by contributions from Banks struggling to regain the use of the public revenue, as a fund upon which to predicate new issues of paper money, we appealed in a circular to our Democratic constituents, urging them to meet this political organization of our opponents by one as powerful on their part; and also suggested the propriety of voluntary contributions, to extend the circulation of Democratic documents, so as in some sort to equal the circulation of our opponents; and for this we were denounced from one end of the Union to the other, as if we had been guilty of an act of treason to the country. Our circular was paraded in the public prints, with the words, 'SECRET CIRCULAR,' printed above, although no such words were to be found in the original, and every effort had been used by us to make it a *public* instead of a *secret* circular. But, Sir, I have gone too far in this digression, to prove that Whiggery condemns in others what it thinks perfectly right to practise itself—and I come back to the Whig Central Committee, consisting of members of Congress at this place, and now assert, that of that Committee, which is the accredited head of the present Whig party throughout the U. States, three of its members, to wit: John C. Clark, Truman Smith and

Leverett Saltonstall, (the latter an avowed advocate and abettor of the Hartford Convention,) are SELF-CONCERNED not to be found. Here we have six members out of eight of the committee, who voted on the proposition, voting against it, although it was introduced expressly for the purpose of preventing Abolition agitation on the floor of Congress. To judge how Mr. Corwin would probably have voted, had he been present, I have looked back to the Journals of the last session, and find, that on the 12th December, 1833, the following resolution, moved by Mr. Atherton, a Northern Democrat, and called by the Abolitionists the "Gag Resolution" of that session—"And that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition or paper touching, or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever to slavery, as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred." In opposition to this resolution, I find recorded the name of Thomas Corwin, together with his colleagues FERSED ABOLITIONISTS, pledged to carry out, in their political capacity, the avowed objects of the present Abolition party.

"On the 25th of January last, the following, as appears by the Journals, was added to the standing rules of the House of Representatives; and is, what has been denounced by the Abolitionists as the "Gag Resolution" of the present Session: "No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States or Territories, of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever." In examining the vote as recorded upon this resolution in the Journals, I find that John Minor Botts and Rice Garland voted for it, and that John C. Clark, Truman Smith, Leverett Saltonstall, Charles Naylor, Moses H. Grinnell, and John Bell, voted against it. The latter gentleman being one of only three Southern men in opposition to it. On this question, Thomas Corwin's vote on the committee, John Bell, John C. Clark, Charles Naylor, and Leverett Saltonstall, being every member of the Central Committee, who was a member of the last Congress except Rice Garland. Here, then, we have the striking result of the great Central Committee of the Whig party at this place, consisting of nine members, seven of whom at the present session have opposed the only possible means of banishing Abolition petitions and interference from the halls of legislation; five out of six of whom, at the last session, threw their weight into the same scale. I have presented these facts, not to prove that seven out of these nine gentlemen are Abolitionists, but to show that, in the organization of the committee, the Abolition, rather than the anti-Abolition, feelings of the Whig party greatly preponderated. I find, by examining the vote on the resolution of this session, above referred to, that of 108 Whigs who gave their votes upon the question, 70 were opposed to the resolution, and 38 were in favor of it.—

On the Atherton resolution of the last session, out of 103 Whig votes given, 35 were in favor of, and 68 against it. These votes, at two successive sessions, prove conclusively, that the Whig party, in the proportion of nearly 2 to 1, are in favor of receiving Abolition petitions; and but for the fact, that an immense majority of the Democrats are opposed to it, they would for the last two years, have had full possession of the House of Representatives, as a theatre for Abolition agitation. As favorable, however, as the constitution of the Whig party may be to the agitation efforts of the Abolitionists, this committee is even more acceptable to them, containing three out of nine members regular built Abolitionists: and seven of them willing to receive, and of course to consider, discuss and decide on Abolition petitions. What more could the Abolitionists ask in the constitution of a committee vested with the Executive Power, and carrying with it the sanction and the authority of the GREAT WHIG PARTY, and specially charged with the election of William Henry Harrison to the Presidency? I ask you, Sir, can the organization of this committee be the result of accident or design? Is it not too plain, that the party to which you belong, are already in leading strings to the Abolitionists? If the Whigs yield them thus, in struggling for power, will they not yield them as much in using that power when it is obtained? Yield, did I say? why, Sir, the Abolitionists, in the organization of this committee, as in the action of the Harrisburg Convention, have shown that they now constitute the stronger and controlling portions of the Whig party, and that the triumph of the Whigs would be, much more emphatically, the triumph of the Abolitionists.

Yet, sir, this committee, thus constituted, are the chosen emissaries to circulate Whig doctrines even in the South; and you, and others, have attempted, by acts of the grossest rudeness, to suppress the circulation of documents from me, to give more effect to their unremitting and condescending labors, in teaching the Southern people for whom they should vote as the next President. Unknown as this committee are to the people of Alabama, I doubt, however, whether in the circulation of all their documents, and in their officious

interference with even the organization of county committees, throughout the States, they have even encountered the rudeness of having a single document returned to them, accompanied with offensive remarks.

Sir, these developments, and others daily making, throw upon you and other Southern Whigs an awful responsibility before the Southern people. Your candidate for the Presidency has lately declared, in a public speech, what I would have inferred from my previous opinion of his character, that he would veto no bill whatever which Congress might pass: this would be to commit us to the tender mercies of the Abolitionists upon the first establishment of Whig power. As unsatisfactory, however, as is the obstinate concealment, by Gen. Harrison, of all his opinions on this vital question, I look with infinitely more alarm on the political party which his success would bring into power, than any direct movement to be apprehended from him. When Northern Whiggery shall prostrate Northern Democracy, then is the triumph of Abolition inevitable. Look, sir, at the recorded vote, at this and the last session of Congress, to which I have before referred, and convince yourself of this fact: and when you have done this, say to your Southern friends and neighbors, whether you will further strive to prostrate that party at the North, who have waged an incessant war, within their own borders, against a band of desperadoes, who are lighting the torch for the conflagration of our dwellings, and whetting the dagger for the butchery of our wives and children. In the language of truth and sincerity, I say to you, that the almost certain failure of your candidate, constitutes your only security from the consequences of achieving what you are madly attempting—the transfer of the political power of this country into the hands of that party, which, in its whole course on this question, as on all others, has shown a total want of sympathy, and of even common regard for the South or its institutions.

A word more, and I shall close this address. You support Gen. Harrison ardently and sincerely, no doubt believing her is opposed to the Abolitionists, and determined to maintain the rights and institutions of the South. John C. Clark, Truman Smith, Leverett Saltonstall, and every avowed Abolitionist in the present Congress, support him with the same ardor and zeal.—Now, sir, if he answers your purposes as a President, can he answer theirs? One or the other of you have to be deceived; which the most likely, you or they? Who stands in a relation to Gen. Harrison, to know his opinions better than John C. Clark, Truman Smith, and Leverett Saltonstall? And if he is sound on the question of Abolition, why are Abolitionists so zealous in his cause, as to be circulating documents to every county, and almost to every post office, in Alabama, to aid his election?

But, Sir, that you may not escape my conclusions, by denying the facts which I have stated, I commence my proof by giving you the circular letter, addressed, I presume, only to the faithful, showing who constitute the Whig Central Committee, which has inundated the country with so many Whig documents from this place, during the present session."

(The Circular to which Mr. Lewis refers is signed by the names of the following Committee:—R. Garland, La.; John Bell, Tenn.; J. M. Botts, Va.; T. Corwin, Ohio; L. Saltonstall, Mass.; Truman Smith, Conn.; Chas. Naylor, Penn.; J. C. Clark, New York; M. H. Grinnell, N. Y.)

RICHMOND, Va., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 26.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

A Common Sense Appeal to the People!

What do you expect from the election of Gen. Harrison? What can you expect from his own revelations and his associates, but a restoration of the old Federal measures of a protective Tariff, a National Bank, &c., &c.? About the Tariff, the following facts have reached us within a few days:—1st. We have before us a large displayed copy of the following handbill, issued from Philadelphia:

The Friends of Harrison and Tyler

In the County of Delaware and adjacent counties in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, are respectfully invited to attend a General Convention to be held at Chester, in said county, on Thursday, the 23d of July, inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M. It is expected that every freeman in the county, who is opposed to Van Buren's Standing Army of 200,000 men, a measure fraught with danger to our liberties and subversive of our Constitution—every citizen who disapproves of the odious Sub-Treasury—all who are opposed to the extravagance of the present Administration, and in favor of Reform—~~fall in favor of a Protective Tariff,~~ and high wages for the Artizan, Mechanic, Manufacturer and Laborer—all opposed to Taxation, and in favor of a fair distribution of the Public Lands among the several States of the Union—and in brief, all opposed to misrule, extravagance and corruption, and

in favor of good government, reform and a change in the administration, and the election of Gen. William Henry Harrison the Farmer of North Bend, to the Presidency, and John Tyler to the Vice Presidency of the United States, will not fail to attend the Convention. ~~fall in favor of a Protective Tariff,~~ Several distinguished Speakers will address the Convention."

Now, we learn that "Mr. Wise was present and addressed the friends ~~of a Protective Tariff~~—What says John Tyler? What will Virginia say to ~~a Protective Tariff~~? Harrison is identified here (in Pennsylvania) with ~~a High Tariff~~.

2d. The last Globe gives us the following extracts of a letter from Guildhall, Vermont, Aug. 12th:

"Dr. John Dewey of this town, one of the leading Whigs in this State, in a political harangue here to-day, among other blessings which his prophetic eye discovered would result from General Harrison's election to the Presidency, affirmed that he knew that Harrison was in favor of a high tariff and a United States' Bank; and if he should be elected, we should have cash, and that money would then be plenty, and business of every description would revive. How Dewey became possessed of this information, we are left to conjecture.—This ground or electioneering is assumed by the Whigs in this section of the Union, and some letter, "not for the public eye," probably justifies it.—What will Virginia and the South say to this? Have they taken a letter "not for the press," to induce a belief that Harrison is opposed to each of these measures? Expose the hypocrite.—No one Whig in the State assumes higher grounds as a politician, or may be more regarded as a leader in the Whig party, than this same Dr. John Dewey, having been many years a member of our State Legislature, and one of the ablest Whig debaters; but as evidence of the "changes" so much talked about by the Whigs, I can assure you that this political brawler will be invited to stay at home the approaching election by a handsome majority."

But 3dly. Here is a sign: *And*

A sign not to be mistaken!—The Lynn Freeman, (of Massachusetts) a decided Harrison paper, declares on the 15th of August, openly for the Tariff. It says unqualifiedly, that "boldly and unblushingly as Mr. Van Buren has espoused the slaveholding interest, for the avowed purpose of buying its votes, the good sense of a portion of it is beginning to see how suicidal to their future good will be the yielding of their support to his doctrines for a mere temporary benefit. Crush the tariff—break down Yankee enterprise and skill—throw open our ports to the fabrics produced by the serfs of Europe at sixpence a day—and the cotton planters of the South may hang their harps upon the willows, while the slaves ~~were~~ chains they fancied they had riveted forever by truckling at the footstool of Van Burenism, will rot on the fields they have enriched with their blood.—With a Protective Tariff upon manufactures, the North will set all competition at defiance. And Protective Tariff she WILL HAVE. Suppose that by the aid of the South the present Administration should be reinstated in power, (which Heaven forbid!) and in furtherance of its avowed policy it should attempt to break down the manufacturing interest, and reduce our free laborers to the degrading servitude of the half-starved pauper sanitary of Europe, how long think ye the chain would be borne? Not for an instant!"

Hear you this, men of the South! Here are Harrison's friends in the North, to be led on hereafter by his contemplated Secretary of State (D. Webster,) taking ground boldly against the South—and yet you are urged to go with them for Gen. Harrison, (the grass-grown advocate of the Tariff) against the dearest interests of Free Trade and the South. "Must the earth quake" before you awaken?

Bank of the United States.—Can any man doubt too about General Harrison's alacrity in signing a Bank Bill. The last development we have from him upon this subject is to be found in the Speech, which he delivered a few days since at Fort Greenville, and is duly reported in the Cincinnati Gazette. After stating that whilst Governor of Indiana, "I never vetoed a bill in my life," he adds this emphatic language:

"But I have been denounced as a Bank man. Well let it go. I am so far a Bank man as I believe every Republican ought to be, and no further. The Constitution of the United States makes it the duty of the Government to provide ways and means for the collection and disbursement of the public revenue. If the people deem it necessary to the proper discharge of the functions of their Government to create a National Bank, properly guarded and regulated, I shall be the last man, if elected president, to set up my authority against that of these millions of American freemen. It is needful to have a larger money circulation in a land of liberty than in an empire of despotism. Destroy the poor man's credit and you destroy his capital. The peasant who toils incessantly to maintain his famishing household, in the hard money countries of Europe, rarely, if ever, becomes the noble lord who pastures his "flocks upon a thousand hills." There are necessarily difficulties connected with every form and system of government; but it should be the aim and object of the statesman to form the best institutions within his power to make, for the good of his country."

No man can mistake this language. What will William C. Rives say to it, when he with a species of desperation was compelled to pin his faith to Gen. Harrison's letter of 1822—in which he declared the Bank of the U. S. unconstitutional. And what does he say in this Greenville Speech? The poor quibbler attempts

THE CRISIS.

to bring the Bank within the range of the Constitution—and says he shall be the *last man* to set up his opinion against millions of freemen. That is to say, though sworn to support the Constitution, he will forswear himself if the People ask him to do so. But the most objectionable part of the doctrine is, the ground of expediency on which he would justify an encroachment of the Constitution. He would increase the circulation of paper, the facilities of credit—and in fact, form the best institutions for the *good of his country*. If this be not going the whole Federal ground of "the general welfare," we have no knowledge of the English language—and yet this loose Constructionist of the Constitution is recommended to the State Rights men, as the President of the U. S.

Are the Southern Whigs altogether mad? or do they consider the People as so many gulls? Trust such a man with the Executive functions—who has no one fixed idea of the true principles of the Constitution—who would sign any bill which his cabinet might prevail on Congress to pass—who looks not to the restrictions of the charter, but to the supposed will of the people, and to the general good of the country. We cannot well express the indignation and disgust which such doctrines produce. They fritter away every strict rule by which the Republicans of Virginia are accustomed to construe the Constitution. There is not a particle of the Jeffersonian State Rights' school in all the notions of the Orator of Fort Greenville. And yet the South are impudently called on to support him!

The Speech at Fort Greenville.

"We Stand to Conquer"—Inscription on the Flag at Baltimore. The pretensions of the Federal Candidate to dignity and magnanimity are fast melting away. The whole campaign has not produced a more remarkable instance of an intriguing disposition, than occurs in his late Address at Greenville. He descends to some of the lowest canting humbugs of the Whigs. He refers to "our log cabin at the Bend," as if he would impose upon the world the idea of his living in a log cabin. He pretends, that he would have preferred to remain in the "peace and quiet of his log cabin," as if there were a man in the country more anxious to get into the White House than himself. And why did he not remain there? Why did he show himself at Fort Greenville? He assures them, that it was not to electioneering, but to defend himself from calumnies—that is to say, to prattle over again the little story of his Correspondence and his Committee—that twice and thrice told tale. He complains indeed of the charge that he dares not avow his principles. And does he refute it, by boldly avowing his principles? Not at all, except in the case of a National Bank—and here indeed he does speak plainly enough. It is now evident, that he has no one fixed Constitutional principles—and he declares, that he will sign a bill for a National Bank. As to the Tariff, Internal Improvements, Abolitionism, and other questions on which he has been interrogated, he still plays Orator Mum—and from any light he has shed upon them, he might as well have remained at his log cabin.

But, there is one object, which he seems to have carried out. He is not content with defending himself, but he falls into the cant of his friends and attacks Mr. Van Buren. But this of course is no electioneering! None at all. Why these topics of attack, which he artfully puts into the mouths of the People? Why does he repeat the magic word of "Reform"? Why the cant words, "to the victors belong the spoils, say your rulers"? Why this sly denunciation against "a subsidized press"?—this removal of Gen. Van Rensselaer from the P. office?—the alleged interference of the officers of Government with elections? Why this descent upon the powers of Martin Van Buren, as if (Gen. H. says) "the President possesses all the functions necessary to constitute a monarch"? And why, above all, this most indiscreet and indecent attack upon "the Administration (of adding) to the present military force of the U. S., an army of 200,000 men"—as if General H. did not know that it was "calumny" to call it an "army"—and as if he did not recollect that his own scheme for organizing the militia is a bow-shot beyond Mr. Poindexter's.

We confess, that we regard these attacks on Martin Van Buren, as utterly unbecoming a candidate for the Presidency—it indicates a degree of littleness and intrigue, which must lower him in the eyes of the People. It looks like the lowest species of electioneering—and was it for this he left his log cabin for the public theatre of Fort Greenville? We never could have supposed that General Harrison would have condescended to play the part of such a demagogue. But he has become the victim of ambition—and it remains for the People to say whether such means are worthy of the highest office in the world?

Charlottesville Convention.

[¶] We invite, in the name of the Central Committee, as well as of the Corresponding Committee of the Democratic Association, every Republican Elector, member of Congress, and of the Virginia Legislature, to attend the Charlottesville Convention.—A punctual and regular attendance of the Delegates appointed is

earnestly requested—as matters of high concernments and important arrangements for the great battle of November, will be brought before the Convention.

We do not imitate the sweeping example of those magnificent fellows, the Whigs, who do every thing on the greatest possible scale. They invite by a whole county (New Kent) every Whig to their Hanover Convention. They have invited *every Whig* in the State (Heaven save the mark!) to that most magnificent of all the humbugs, their contemplated Convention of the 5th October in this City. But we do earnestly request every Republican Delegate to repair to Charlottesville! It will be a strong and numerous meeting, in any event—made up of many talented Delegates, and attended by many spectators—but it is desirable to have some Representatives from every district and county in the State. We, therefore, in the name of the Democracy, bid them come.

We hasten to lay before our Readers the proceedings in various counties—but we have others on the file.—The Democrats of Berkeley have appointed ten Delegates to the Convention, distributed among the several precincts of the county. The Committee of Vigilance for the precinct of Stony Point, Albemarle, have appointed ten Delegates. The Committee of Vigilance for the vicinity of Mansfield P. Office, Louisa, highly approve the Convention, and earnestly recommend to the Delegates to attend punctually. The Democrats of Monroe county heartily concur in the importance of the Convention, and have appointed 25 Delegates (at the head of whom is Col. Andrew Beirne) to represent their county. The Democratic Association of Norfolk county have appointed 30 Delegates, out of the different precincts. We trust, that we shall meet Representatives from every section of Virginia. Various considerations, which it is unnecessary to specify at this time and in this manner, recommend and urge their punctual attendance.

MORE TESTIMONY.—A writer who reports the proceedings of a great meeting of the Democracy in Warren county, Ohio, states to the Editor of the Ohio Statesman—

"John Osborne, one of the first inhabitants of the State, then stated to the meeting, (and a man whom Whiggery dare not contradict,) that he saw Gen. Harrison wear the badge of black cockade Federalism, and knew him to be a supporter of the elder Adams's gag law, and in this he was confirmed by the president, (Samuel Calvert,) who stated that he saw him wear it himself, while he was a resident of Hamilton county, near forty years ago."

The informant of the Statesman says the declarations made by these respectable individuals to the assembled people, will be verified by their affidavits.

VERY INTERESTING!—Extract of a Letter to the Editor.

"BALTIMORE, Aug. 16, 1840.
"I left Mississippi the last of June, and reached the city of New York, the 28th July, and remained there and in the State of New Jersey, until the 12th inst., and was almost every day in the city of New York during that time. The Whigs, not one in ten, pretend to claim that city, while the Democrats are confident of carrying it by from 3 to 4,000 majority. There have been many valuable changes, to my own knowledge, in New York, in favor of Martin Van Buren. I have visited that city four summers in succession, and know, therefore, of changes in his favor in the last few months. My own opinion is, from all the information I could gather, that he will get a majority in the city of at least 3,000. I examined all the sources of information, and conversed frequently with business men and politicians of both political parties. I felt a very deep interest in the result of the coming Presidential election. I enquired, therefore, fully, diligently and constantly during my stay in the city, from all the sources and means of information accessible to me, of the prospects of Martin Van Buren to get his native State, and I have no doubt, and feel no hesitation in saying the Democratic party have gained at every election in that State since the election of Gov. Seward; and, notwithstanding all the clamor, efforts and misrepresentations of the Whigs, our party is still gaining, and is now unquestionably in the ascendancy. The Empire State, you may rely upon it, will not abandon her own favorite son—the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and support Gen. Mum, the Federal Whig candidate for that office. The Republicans of that State are but beginning to organize and diffuse sound political information amongst the people by public meetings and public discussion.—The same may be said of New Jersey. The Democrats of the country lay aside, for the time being, the implements of husbandry, and assemble in immense masses to hear Democratic speeches and gain political information. From these discussions, the best results to our cause may unquestionably be expected. New Jersey, in November next, will signalize this daring attempt of Federalism to smuggle into the National Councils her five misrepresentatives, and suppress the voice of the State clearly expressed through the ballot box. She will, you may rest assured, number herself amongst the Democratic States of the Union—I was three days in Philadelphia. Never were the Democracy of old Pennsylvania more aroused, more united, or more certain of success. Scarcely will you meet a Federal Whig who claims that Democratic State for Gen. Mum, the Federal Whig candidate for the Presidency. Martin Van Buren is certain of Pennsylvania by at least 20,000 majority. Log cabins, hard cider and coon skins are *no go* with the stern yeomanry of the Keystone State. I am informed by a gentleman, who has just travelled through the State of Delaware, and a native of that State, that, at the coming Presidential election, the Democrats will certainly redeem that gallant State from the Dominion of Federalism, and give her electoral vote for M. Van Buren. The city of Baltimore is decidedly Democratic. A great many of the Federal Whigs with whom I have conversed, concede the city to Van Buren. The Democratic majority will be greatly increased. The Democrats of Maryland are confident of carrying the State for Martin Van Buren by at least 2500 majority—Gen. Mum, log cabin, hard cider and coon skins to the contrary notwithstanding.

"You have no doubt seen statements of letter-writers from Mississippi, claiming immense changes for the Federal Whig—"All stuff intended for political effect abroad—they do not pretend to claim it at home. Gen. Mum, hard cider and coon skins can-

not run away with the Democracy of Mississippi. Van Buren's majority will be at least 3,000.

Yours, &c."

Imprisonment for Debt.

The Whigs tell us, that Gen. Harrison never voted to sell white men for debt; but that, so far from it, he has invariably been opposed to imprisonment for debt at all—but in this, as in most other of their statements, they are at fault. It has been stated and never contradicted, that Gen. Harrison, when Governor of the Northwestern Territory, was invested with certain legislative powers, together with the Territorial Judges, and that in the exercise of these powers, he and the Judges enacted laws *authorizing imprisonment for debt*; but suppose he had always been and was at the present time in favor of such a law, would it give him any greater claims upon the people of this country, than his competitor already possessed? Would it add a feather to his cap, that Mr. Van Buren does not wear? No—certainly not. Then hear him (Mr. Van Buren) in the Senate of the U. S., advocating a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt:

"In criminal cases, by the lapse of time, the measure of personal suffering becomes full, and the claims of public justice are satisfied. Not so with the imprisoned debtor. The sun rises and the sun sets—but his condition remains the same; and, if death sets his spirit free, the creditor not only succeeds to his dead body, but to whatever estate accident may have devolved upon him. Imprisonment is not only of such character and consequence to the unfortunate debtor himself, but its injurious consequences, without benefiting the creditor, embrace the still more innocent family of the debtor, by depriving them of all means of support. Viewed in whatever light it may be, the imprisonment of the unfortunate debtor, is a matter of unmixed mischief, which ought nowhere to be tolerated, which is nowhere justified in terms, though it is supported in substance."

These are Mr. Van Buren's sentiments, as well as the sentiments of Col. Johnson, the Vice President.

The Times.—We recommend to our readers to consult the articles from the New York Post and the Journal of Commerce on "The Low Prices." They comprise facts and speculations which shed much light on the present state of the times. The Whigs cant much upon this subject, and raise their basest humbug upon it. They tell us, that the Times *cannot be wrong*—that the Administration is the cause of it—that Harrison will change everything—that *change, change, must be the order of the day*.—Never was such a series of humbugs strung together!

1. Times can't be worse! Indeed! Why, are they not better than they were 3 years ago, or than they were during two or three periods of the boasted Bank. Look at Mr. Clay's speech some years ago. Wheat, flour, corn, every thing in fact was much lower *then* than now. But times are not as bad as they were three years ago. There are no shipplasters with us. Bankruptcy has stopped. The towns are flourishing in many respects. Who ever saw so many buildings rising in Richmond, as at this time? It is the same case in Charleston, Savannah, and other Southern cities. Ship-building too is advancing to the North with unexampled rapidity.

2. The Administration is not the cause of the embarrassments complained of. The people have over-banked and over-dwelt—and that is the cause, as Mr. Bidwell said some years ago.

3. How is Gen. Harrison to improve our condition? Will he pay my debts or yours, pray? Will he pay what the West owes to the East—what one Bank owes another, or what the People owe the Banks? who dreams it? But he will establish a great National Bank. Aye, will he? Violate the Constitution, will he? And for what? How is that institution to relieve the People?—Where is he to obtain the 10 or 20 millions of specie on which to found it—or, if he builds it on air, not on *specie*, is such an institution worthy of support? or, if he takes the specie, that is in the country, to build his Bank on, will he not tap the other Banks for it, and thus straiten them, and through them, the People more and more?

4. But we must have *change! change!*—And are we not having change? Are not the times gradually and surely *mending themselves*? Is not Nature performing her own cure? This has always been so, and is so now. Times are mending, and will continue to mend, if we call in no quack to minister to the body politic. Let Van Buren or Harrison be elected, things will be better—and by the next Spring, when the State Banks will have resumed specie payment, capital will flow in upon us, prices will improve, wages rise, and enterprise will again plume her soaring wing. All this is inevitable—but beware of the quacks. *Let things alone*, as far as possible. And do not, in order to have a *change*, set up a National Bank for thirty-five or fifty years, which will bind up the limbs of our great country, with withers which can scarcely be broken. Do not, in a word, for the sake of change to-day, so fetter us as to prevent us from having more important changes, more suitable to our wants, for 35 years. A *hasty change* now will prevent us more important and wise changes, for 30 or 50 years.—And remember, too, that of all ages and of all countries on the habitable Globe, no age is so full of change and improvements in matters of finance, and no country is so full of resources, so teeming with energy and enterprise. We ought not then to be bound down by a monstrous charter of a gigantic monied Institution—which shuts us out from great change and important improvement.

ELECTIONS.

Illinois.—We have a majority of 12 in the Senate, and 9 in the House—on joint ballot 21. The popular majority is already 342, and will be increased 1000 more.

Missouri.—The Democratic candidates have probably received a majority of 7,500—Van Buren will have in the Fall about 10,000.

Alabama.—The majority on joint ballot is 13 or 15—The popular majority above 6,000.

Indiana.—The Federal majority is now 8,578—Harrison's in '36 was 8,803.—There have been tremendous frauds in the vote of this State. Our friends are going to renew the battle with redoubled energy.

North Carolina.—The Raleigh Register of yesterday claims a majority of 8783 for Morehead—Some of the Democratic papers make it less.—Our friends are determined to strike again for victory.

Pennsylvania.—Safe by 15,000.

Ohio.—Gov. Porter has just returned from this State—and was informed that we should carry it by 10,000.

New York.—Our friends full of energy and hope.
Old Virginia.—Friends in every section bold and sanguine.

MARKETS—WEDNESDAY, August 26.

TOBACCO.—The receipts of this article are becoming lighter, and in pieces falling off.—Demand this week not so brisk as the last, and prices rather in favor of the buyer. We quote lugs \$3½ and \$4½—Common leaf \$5½ a \$6½ and \$8½—Middling \$7½ and \$8½—Good \$8 a \$8½—Fine \$8½ a \$10½ and \$11—Extra fine manufacturing quality \$10 a \$11½.

WINFREE & WILLIAMSON.

COUNTRY FLOUR.—Stock very light, and receipts small. Old salts at \$5—holders, generally, ask \$5½—new \$5½ and \$5¾.

Sales of Wm. Baker's crop of 13 hds. passed Tobacco at the Public Warehouse, August 19th—1 hhd. \$15½, 1 do. 15½, 1 do. 14½, 1 do. 14½, 1 do. 13½, 1 do. 11½, 1 do. 11½, 1 do. 11, 2 do. \$8, 2 do. 7½, 1 do. 7½.